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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *ʻino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi*). The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by [386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. 11, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *poti'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 848 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relationship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ohana* and *vehine*, merely

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were [783] eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following ● 533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna*, coral or lime; *tohu*, to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai*, water; *hahae*, to break; and *tupapa'u*, corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava*, or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu*, was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane*, spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie*, made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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CHANTING

533 Most of the chanting was done in groups, sometimes mixed, or sometimes entirely of one or the other sex—in other words, the native's chanting, like everything else he did, was communal. The only individual singing of which I know, aside from occasional solo parts by leaders of group singing, was the chanting of personal spells and that done by the ceremonial priest upon those occasions when he intoned the sacred chants alone. Stewart (*26*, p. 235) speaks of solos and duets in a way, however, which indicates that they were merely incidental in the choral singing.

To what extent part singing, or harmonization, as distinguished from singing in unison, was developed is uncertain. It is hoped that more information on this subject may be obtained in the future. I feel sure, however, that there was in intentional harmonization of a rudimentary type in one of the songs that was recorded. (See Chants.)

In the native system three voices are distinguished: *a'o*, deep; *vavena*, medium; and *mauna*, high. Registers between these are designated descriptively as *mauna o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice; and *mauna a'e*, very high. There were these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Every chant had its established pitch, which was determined by the mood. Thus the *pu'e*, or chant of the creation of the land, was intoned *i a'o oa*, in very deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* for the young maiden was sung in a high register. This furnishes one of many indications of artistic sensibility that are to be found in the native music.

Pitch was one of the three elements by means of which variety appropriate to the mood of the chant was attained. The other two elements were melody and rhythm. It is striking that among the songs, the melodies of which were recorded, the one that exhibits the most melodic range and expression is the *pipine*, a song tribute to a young girl, the whole spirit of which is light and graceful; while the chant which shows the most marked dynamic effect, combined with the least melodic expression—being intoned all on one note—is the *pehi*, composed and sung in honor of a young man, a song the very essence of which is its virility and directness. The creation chant already mentioned was intoned in a very deep bass entirely on two tones, but is characterized particularly by very strong, steady rhythm with sustained notes and pauses. Like all chanting and recitative, the rhythm is not fixed but accommodates itself to the words of the chant. Councilor Tilesius, who was with Krusenstern, described certain chants that he heard. Tilesius is quoted by Langsdorf (*18*, p. 164) as follows:

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The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

Garcia (14, pp. 64-65) testifies to the impressiveness of such chants in these words:

The most serious member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed or which he composes at the moment. It often consists in only two or three words repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or thee vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert, but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a fete of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The fact that the *pehi* was sung entirely on one note has already been mentioned. The greatest range that was found for any one song was a major fourth. The entervals of the native music cannot be recorded on the European scale, since we find not only whole and half but also a quarter and three-quarter tone intervals in some songs. The minor third seems to be a favorite interval. Characteristic of some songs is a long trailing descent of the voice at the end of the song. Further notes on the nature of melodies recorded and mode of singing will be found in the description of particular chants.[19]

The great choral chants were usually accompanied by drums, both large and small. Many were, however, sung with no drum beating. Hand clapping furnished a second element of accompaniment. Of this there were two kinds distinguished: *pu*, clapping with hollowed palms, giving a deep sound; and *papaki*, clapping with flattened palms. A sound called *poko*, more hollow and louder than that given by striking together the hollowed palms, was produced by holding the left arm crooked against the body and striking upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body with the right hand hollowed. One type of song, *komumu*, was accompanied always by the tapping of small sticks, and another (the *ru'u*) was sung sometimes to the playing of the flute. Many chants were sung with no accompaniment whatever.

[19] A translation of the text of these chants with a study of the melodies is in preparation.

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growth of the world; subsequent sections, which were appended to this, are made up of elements apposite to the matter in hand. Thus in the *pu'e* for the boy and girl from Pua Ma'u the later sections have to do with the birth of trees and other things that furnish the materials required for the practical and aesthetic use of the boy and girl. The *pu'e* from Atu Ona begins with the marriage of great root stocks (*to'o* and *aka*) at the foundation of things, later bringing in Atea and One-u'i. After this first part, relating to creation in its earlier stages, the mothers of various kinds of materials, such as wood, stone, or earth, used in house construction, are called upon to furnish their share toward the building of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea and ancestress of all men.

Toward the end of the Atu Ona *pu'e* various kinds of fish in the sea are mentioned as women (wives of Atea?.) As there seems no possible connection here with house building, I am inclined to think that this was a section used in connection with the fishing rites. My informant knew nothing about the significance of this part.

When used in connection with industry the *pu'e* was chanted by the ceremonial priest alone. In the family rites it appears to have been chanted by a priest or old man alone. But at the festivals it was intoned by old men (*tuhuna*) in a very deep voice, the chorus accompanying their singing with hand clapping. Four great drums (*pahu anaana*) and many small ones (*tutu*) accompanied the singers. The melody of the Atu Ona chant, which is subsequently to be published, is entirely on two notes, the interval between them being a tone and a quarter. There are changes of time in different sections, and the rhythm is irregular, accommodating itself to the words. The most marked characteristic of the melody is the way in which the last two notes ending each line are sustained.

A few excerpts from one of the *pu'e* are given below. The *pu'e no One-u'i* from Atu Ona begins in a deep bass in a very slow rhythm, accompanied by drums and hand clapping:

Tuia		oa	te	to'o	e
Were united long ago the root-stocks, ah!					
Auea	e,	e		to'o	o te fenua
Ah,	yes,	they	are	root-stocks	of the land.

So it proceeds with repetition of all but the last phrase of the first line, "root-stock (*to'o*) of the land," for which is substituted, "root (*aka*) of the land," "firmness (*mau*) of the land," "masters (*hei*) of the land," and "bond (*pona*) of the land."

The chant then proceeds with a more rapid rhythm:

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 852 [778] The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and [533] common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic.

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

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539 in the special house by the *tuhuna*. *Rari* were always in honor of girls. Festivals called *ko'ina rari* were sometimes celebrated for the especial purpose of singing *rari*.

●533 There seems to have been a wide leeway for the subject matter that
539 was considered appropriate for these songs. Some, like the *putu* and the *pipine*, were composed in honor of some person; the words of others were based on tradition; still others were love songs like those called *uta*. The characteristic feature of the *rari* and *ru'u* seems to be the mode of performance and the music. The young men and women who sang the *rari* or *ru'u* were ranged in parallel rows, the women in between the rows of men and all facing in one direction, the men forming two rows
[516] on either side facing inward toward the women and each other. Anciently, it is said, the performers always stood, but nowadays they were seated. The song was directed by a leader (*kahua*), either a man or a woman, who began the song by singing the first line, whereupon it was taken up by the rest of the singers. At occasional points in the song the *kahua* would sustain the melody alone for a moment, furnishing contrast to the group singing. The women, as they sang, performed a continued conventional pantomime illustrative of the words of the song, swinging the body, bowing, and making slow, graceful movements and gestures with the hands. In the *rari* the men took no part in this pantomime but sat still. In one of the examples I have the women carried the melody, the men following, but in the other the order was reversed. The singing is mostly in unison, but with frequent intentional harmonization. Since the limit of the range of the melody is four whole tones it is obvious that this harmonization is necessarily close, the intervals being fourths, thirds, seconds, and sometimes apparently less. That the harmonization is intentional and prescribed, and not accidental was proved conclusively by repeated singing of the song recorded. It is my belief that this part singing is ancient. One example has two parts, a men's and a women's, with the occasional harmonization of which I speak. I was told on Ua Huka, where this song was recorded, that there were sometimes three separate women's parts in addition to the men's part. It would appear that the men's voices never carried more than one part. Characteristic of the *rari* and *ru'u* is the steady, unvarying 2:2 time. No drums or even hand clapping accompanying these songs.

On Ua Pou it was said that *ru'u* were performed sometimes by four men playing the mouth flute (*pu hakahau*) while two women sang and performed their pantomimic motions. Some *ru'u* on Ua Pou were composed especially to be performed on the flute and were frequently rendered on the instrument alone. This fact is exceedingly interesting for this

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reason: the *pu hakahou* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tape'a Chant

The *tape'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tape'a*. In other words the *tape'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tape'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tape'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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sung also at the *ko'ina patu-tiki* which celebrated the completion of the tattooing.

The words of the example of a *putu* which was worked out with my informant praise the youth or youths for whom the song was composed. The melody is all on one note except at the end where it rises one tone to the last note and from that goes down in a trailing descent. One most interesting feature is the fact that while the singing was apparently in unison the chorus was divided in parts or groups. In the song there is one line that is repeated three times, being sung first by the old man (*tuhuna*) in the middle, next by the men standing midway in the circular formation, and lastly by the young men who formed the outer margin of the circular chorus, the first group singing in a deep voice, the next in a medium voice, and the third in a higher pitch. At other times all sang together.

The Pehi Chant

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu*, being actually a sort of refrain to that song. Two *putu* were sung, then after a pause and a rest of about five minutes the *pehi* was begun. In the singing of the *pehi* the men sat (or stood?) in rows forming two or three lines, their bodies being swung from side to side, each line swinging in unison, alternate lines in opposite directions. Accompanying the swaying of the body, the arms and hands were thrust out sideways in the direction opposite to that in which the body was swung. Mimetic gestures were also made, interpretive of the words of the song, which mocked the parents of the boy for whom the *putu* had been prepared. The *putu* glorified the youth and his family; the *pehi* furnished a dramatic contrast by a humorous mockery of the parents.

The *ta'a'au*, or crier, standing in the midst of the singers, began the *pehi* by chanting in a monotone in a very high voice, allowing his voice gradually to descend on the last syllable of his introductory line. Then, led by the *kahua*, all took up the chant, without accompaniment of clapping or drums. This chant is characterized by short lines and an abrupt, masculine melody. A note is sustained on the end of each line, except in two lines that are cut short, and there is a trailing descent on the closing note of the melody. The contrast is masculinity and femininity in the quality of the melody, between the *pehi*, sung for the youth, and the *pepine*, for the girl, is very striking and revelatory of the subtlety of the native artistic sensibility.

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[For information on Marquesan music and samples thereof, see category 116, pp. 5-51.]

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or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow.

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou:*

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[1] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuahine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[1] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

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Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This accomplished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

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festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(iutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith